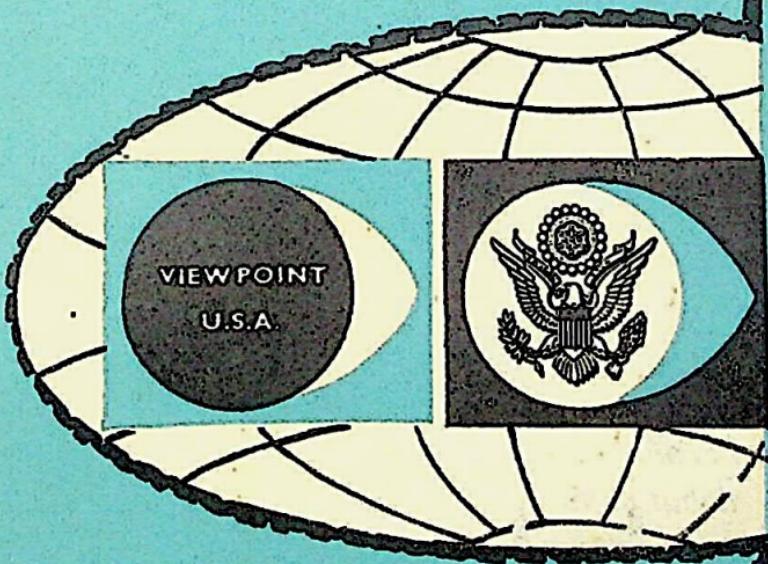


21

'To Develop In Peace'



Text of an address by the U.S.
Secretary of Defence Robert S. McNamara
before the National Security
Industrial Association in Washington
on March 26, 1964.

“Basic to the principles of freedom and self-determination, which have sustained our country for almost two centuries, is the right of peoples everywhere to live and develop in peace.”

“Given stability and lack of subversive disruption, South Vietnam would dramatically outstrip its northern neighbour and could become a peaceful and prosperous contributor to the well-being of the Far East as a whole.”

'To Develop In Peace'

By Robert S. McNamara
U.S. Secretary of Defence



In this address Secretary McNamara reviews the current situation in South Vietnam and outlines U.S. objectives and plans for the achievement of peace and stability in the area.

Viewpoint U.S.A.

*Number thirteen in a continuing series of
American policy statements.*

'To Develop in Peace'

THIS EVENING I want to discuss South Vietnam with you. In South Vietnam, as you well know, the independence of a nation and the freedom of its people are being threatened by communist aggression and terrorism. In response to requests from the government of South Vietnam, the United States since 1954 has been providing assistance to the Vietnamese in their struggle to maintain their independence.

My purpose this evening is threefold. After recalling some facts about Vietnam and its history, I want:

First, to explain our stake and objectives in South Vietnam;

Second, to review for you the current situation there as General Taylor and I found it on our recent trip;

And finally, to outline in broad terms the plans which have been worked out with General Khanh for achieving our mutual objectives in South Vietnam.

Let me begin by reminding you of some details about South Vietnam—that narrow strip of rich coastal mountain and delta lands running 900 miles in the tropics along the South China Sea to the Gulf of Siam. It contains the mouth of the Mekong River, the main artery of Southeast Asia. It has a population of about 14 million—almost that of California—in an area slightly larger than England and Wales. South Vietnam does not exist by itself. Mainland Southeast Asia includes Laos, Cambodia, and the two Vietnams, together comprising former French

Indo-China. It also includes Thailand, Burma, and part of Malaysia. The Southeast Asian peninsula is a richly endowed land area of over 800,000 square miles—roughly the size of the United States east of the Mississippi—and containing almost 100 million people. And immediately beyond to the east are the Philippines. Not far to the west is India, to the north is Communist China, and to the south is what the Chinese communists may consider the greatest prize of all—Indonesia's resources, territory, and the world's fifth largest population, whose strategic location straddles and dominates the gateway to the Indian Ocean.

The Vietnamese lost the independence they had enjoyed since the fifteenth century when, a hundred years ago, the French assumed control in what is now Vietnam. A quarter century ago, during the Second World War, the Vichy regime yielded French Indo-China to the Japanese. In the power vacuum of the war's end, the communist Viet Minh moved rapidly to enhance their position and to build their bases for a power grab in North Vietnam.

The attempt by the French, following World War II, to restore their rule—to buck the trend toward independence as shown in Burma, India, and the Philippines—failed. The returning French encountered a strong military resistance movement which gradually fell more and more under communist control. For eight years France sought to control the country while at the same time gradually granting increasing autonomy to non-communist Vietnamese. Such actions, however, were not enough. In 1954, after the fall of the French stronghold at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, the Geneva Agreements of July 20 were signed ending the hostilities and ending French rule in Indo-China. The country was roughly cut in half at the 17th parallel, creating the communist regime of Ho

Chi Minh in the north and a non-communist state in the south. Although the United States was not a party to those Geneva Agreements, the U.S. unilaterally declared that it would not violate them and that it would regard any violation by other parties as a serious threat to international peace and security.

Under the Geneva Agreements, it was hoped that South Vietnam would have an opportunity to build a free nation in peace—unaligned, and set apart from the global power struggle. But the problems confronting the new government were staggering: 900,000 refugees who had fled their homes in the north at the time of partition in order to escape communist rule; a long-term military threat from the North, which had emerged from the war with large military forces; a government nearly paralysed by eight years of war and lacking sufficient trained officials for effective self-government; acute economic dislocation and lack of government revenues; and persisting pockets of southern territory that had long been held by communists and other dissident groups. In the face of such problems, hopes were not high for the survival of the fledgling republic.

That autumn, a decade ago, President Ngo Dinh Diem of the Republic of South Vietnam turned to the United States for economic assistance. President Eisenhower understood the gravity of the situation, and he determined to give direct American aid to the new government to enable its survival. He wrote to President Diem on October 25, 1954: "The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." The U.S. therefore provided help—largely economic.

On the basis of this assistance and the brave, sustained

efforts of the South Vietnamese people, the five years from 1954 to 1959 gave concrete evidence that South Vietnam was becoming a success story. By the end of this period, 140,000 landless peasant families had been given land under an agrarian reform programme; the transportation system had been almost entirely rebuilt; rice production had reached the pre-war annual average of 3.5 million metric tons—and leaped to over 5 million in 1960; rubber production had exceeded pre-war totals; and construction was underway on several medium-size manufacturing plants, thus beginning the development of a base for industrial growth.

In addition to such economic progress, school enrollments had tripled, the number of primary school teachers had increased from 30,000 to 90,000, and almost 3,000 medical aid stations and maternity clinics had been established throughout the country. And the South Vietnamese government had gone far towards creating an effective apparatus for the administration of the nation. A national institute of administration had been established without technical and financial assistance—a centre for the training of a new generation of civil servants oriented toward careers of public service as opposed to the colonial concept of public rule.

For South Vietnam the horizon was bright.

Its success stood in marked contrast to development in the North. Despite the vastly larger industrial plant inherited by Hanoi when Vietnam was partitioned, gross national product was considerably larger in the South—estimated at \$110 per person in the South and \$70 in the North. While the per capita food production in the North was 10 per cent lower in 1960 than it had been in 1956, it was 20 per cent higher in the South.

It is ironical that Free Vietnam's very achievements in

these five years brought severe new problems. For the communists in North Vietnam, like many others, had believed that South Vietnam would ultimately collapse and fall under Hanoi's control like ripe fruit from a tree. But by the end of 1959, South Vietnam was succeeding, despite all predictions; and the communist leaders evidently concluded that they would have to increase pressure on the South to make the fruit fall.

At the Third National Congress of the Lao Dong (communist) Party in Hanoi, September 1960, North Vietnam's belligerency was made explicit. Ho Chi Minh stated, "The North is becoming more and more consolidated and transformed into a firm base for the struggle for national reunification." At the same congress it was announced that the Party's new task was "to liberate the South from the atrocious rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen." In brief, Hanoi was about to embark upon a programme of wholesale violations of the Geneva Agreements in order to wrest control of South Vietnam from its legitimate government.

To the communists, "liberation" meant sabotage, terror, and assassination: attacks on innocent hamlets and villages and the cold-blooded murder of thousands of school teachers, health workers and local officials who had the misfortune to oppose the communist version of "liberation." In 1960 and 1961 almost 3,000 South Vietnamese civilians in and out of government were assassinated and another 2,500 were kidnapped. The communists even assassinated the colonel who served as liaison officer to the International Control Commission.

This aggression against South Vietnam was a major communist effort, meticulously planned and controlled, and relentlessly pursued by the Government in Hanoi. In 1961, the Republic of South Vietnam, unable to contain

the menace by itself, appealed to the United States to honour its unilateral declaration of 1954. President Kennedy responded promptly and affirmatively by sending to that country additional American advisers, arms and aid.

II

I TURN NOW to a consideration of United States' objectives in South Vietnam. The United States has no designs whatever on the resources or territory of the area. Our national interests do not require that South Vietnam serve as a Western base or as a member of a Western alliance.

Our concern is threefold.

First, and most important, is the simple fact that South Vietnam, a member of the Free World family, is striving to preserve its independence from communist attack. The Vietnamese have asked our help. We have given it, we shall continue to give it.

We do so in their interest; and we do so in our own clear self-interest. For basic to the principles of freedom and self-determination which have sustained our country for almost two centuries is the right of peoples everywhere to live and develop in peace. Our own security is strengthened by the determination of others to remain free, and by our commitment to assist them. We will not let this member of our family down, regardless of its distance from our shores.

The ultimate goal of the United States in Southeast Asia, as in the rest of the world, is to help maintain free and independent nations which can develop politically, economically and socially, and which can be responsible members of the world community. In this region and elsewhere, many peoples share our sense of the value of

such freedom and independence. They have taken the risks and made the sacrifices linked to the commitment to membership in the family of the Free World. They have done this in the belief that we would back up our pledges to help defend them. It is not right or even expedient—nor is it in our nature—to abandon them when the going is difficult.

Second, Southeast Asia has great strategic significance in the forward defence of the United States. Its location across east-west air and sea lanes flanks the Indian sub-continent on one side and Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines on the other, and dominates the gateway between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In communist hands, this area would pose a most serious threat to the security of the U.S. and to the family of Free World nations to which we belong. To defend Southeast Asia, we must meet the challenge in South Vietnam.

And third, South Vietnam is a test case for the new communist strategy. Let me examine for a moment the nature of this strategy.

Just as the Kennedy Administration was coming into office in January 1961, Chairman Khrushchev made one of the most important speeches on communist strategy of recent decades. In his report on a party conference entitled "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement," Khrushchev stated: "In modern conditions, the following categories of wars should be distinguished: world wars, local wars, liberation wars and popular uprisings." He ruled out what he called "world wars" and "local wars" as being too dangerous for profitable indulgence in a world of nuclear weapons. But with regard to what he called "liberation wars," he referred specifically to Vietnam, he said, "It is a sacred war. We recognize such war...."

I have pointed out on other occasions the enormous strategic nuclear power which the United States has developed to cope with the first of Mr. Khrushchev's types of wars; deterrence of deliberate, calculated nuclear attack seems as assured as it can be. With respect to our general purpose forces designed especially for local wars, within the past three years we have increased the number of our combat-ready army divisions by about 45 per cent, tactical air squadrons by 30 per cent, air lift capabilities by 75 per cent, with a 100 per cent increase in ship construction and conversion. In conjunction with the force of our allies, our global posture for deterrence and defence is still not all that it should be. But it is good.

President Kennedy and President Johnson have recognized, however, that our forces for the first two types of wars might not be applicable or effective against what the communists call "wars of liberation," or what is properly called covert aggression or insurgency. We have therefore undertaken and continue to press a variety of programmes to develop skilled specialists, equipment and techniques to enable us to help our allies counter insurgency.

Communist interest in insurgency techniques did not begin with Stalin. Lenin's works are full of tactical instructions, which were adapted very successfully by Mao Tse-tung, whose many writings on guerrilla warfare have become classic references. Indeed, Mao claims to be the true heir of Lenin's original prescriptions for the worldwide victory of communism. The North Vietnamese have taken a leaf or two from Mao's book—as well as Moscow's—and added some of their own.

Thus today in Vietnam we are not dealing with factional disputes or the remnants of a colonial struggle against the French, but rather with a major test case of communism's new strategy. That strategy has so far been pursued in

Cuba, may be beginning in Africa, and failed in Malaya and the Philippines only because of a long and arduous struggle by the people of these countries with assistance provided by the British and the U.S.

In Southeast Asia, the communists have taken full advantage of geography—the proximity to the communist base of operations and the rugged and remote character of the border regions. They have utilized the diverse ethnic, religious and tribal groupings, and exploited factionalism and legitimate aspirations wherever possible. And, as I said earlier, they have resorted to sabotage, terrorism, and assassination on an unprecedented scale.

Who is the responsible party—the prime aggressor? First and foremost, without doubt, the prime aggressor is North Vietnam, whose leadership has explicitly undertaken to destroy the independence of the South. To be sure, Hanoi is encouraged on its aggressive course by Communist China. But Peking's interest is hardly the same as that of Hanoi. For Hanoi, the immediate objective is limited: conquest of the South and national unification, perhaps coupled with control of Laos. However, Hanoi's victory would be only a first step towards eventual Chinese hegemony over the two Vietnams and Southeast Asia, and towards exploitation of the new strategy in other parts of the world.

Communist China's interests are clear: it has publicly castigated Moscow for betraying the revolutionary cause whenever the Soviets have sounded a cautionary note. It has characterized the United States as a paper tiger and has insisted that the revolutionary struggle for "liberation and unification" of Vietnam could be conducted without risks by, in effect, crawling under the nuclear and the conventional defence of the Free World. Peking thus appears to feel that it has a large stake in demonstrating

the new strategy, using Vietnam as a test case. Success in Vietnam would be regarded by Peking as indication for China's views in the world-wide ideological struggle.

Taking into account the relationship of Vietnam to Indo-China—and of both to Southeast Asia, the Far East and the Free World as a whole—five U.S. Presidents have acted to preserve Free World strategic interests in the area. President Roosevelt opposed Japanese penetration in Indo-China; President Truman resisted communist aggression in Korea; President Eisenhower backed Diem's efforts to save South Vietnam and undertook to defend Taiwan; President Kennedy stepped up our counterinsurgency effort in Vietnam; and President Johnson, in addition to reaffirming last week that the United States will furnish assistance and support to South Vietnam for as long as it is required to bring communist aggression and terrorism under control, has approved the programme that I shall describe in a few minutes.

The U.S. role in South Vietnam, then, is: first, to answer the call of the South Vietnamese, a member nation of our Free World family, to help them save their country for themselves; second, to help prevent the strategic danger which would exist if communism absorbed Southeast Asia's people and resources; and third, to prove in the Vietnamese test case that the Free World can cope with communist "wars of liberation" as we have coped successfully with communist aggression at other levels.

III

I REFERRED earlier to the progress in South Vietnam during 1954-1959. In our concern over the seriousness of the Viet Cong insurgency, we sometimes overlook the fact that a favourable comparison still exists between progress in the South—notwithstanding nearly 15 years

of bitter warfare—and the relative stagnation in North Vietnam.

The so-called "Democratic Republic of Vietnam," with a greater population than the South and only a marginally smaller area, appears to be beset by a variety of weaknesses, the most prominent of which is its agricultural failure. Mismanagement, some poor weather, and a lack of fertilizers and insecticides have led to a serious rice shortage. The 1963 per capita output of rice was about 20 per cent lower than 1960. Before the June 1964 harvests, living standards will probably decline further in the cities, and critical food shortages may appear in some of the villages. Furthermore, prospects for the June rice crops are not bright.

The internal transportation system remains primitive, and Hanoi has not met the quotas established for heavy industry. As for the people, they appear to be generally apathetic to what the party considers the needs of the state, and the peasantry has shown considerable ingenuity in frustrating the policies of the government.

In contrast, in the Republic of South Vietnam, despite communist attempts to control or inhibit every aspect of the domestic economy, output continued to rise. In 1963, South Vietnam was once more able to export some 300,000 tons of rice. Add to this the pre-1960 record: up to 1960, significant production increases in rice, rubber, sugar, textiles and electric power, a 20 per cent rise in per capita income; threefold expansion of schools, and restoration of the transportation system. One cannot but conclude that, given stability and lack of subversive disruption, South Vietnam would dramatically outstrip its northern neighbour and could become a peaceful and prosperous contributor to the well-being of the Far East as a whole.

But, as we have seen, the communists—because South

Vietnam is not theirs—are out to deny any such bright prospects.

In the years immediately following the signing of the 1954 Geneva accords, the communists in North Vietnam gave first priority to building armed forces far larger than those of any other Southeast Asian country. They did this to establish iron control over their own population and to ensure a secure base for subversion in South Vietnam and Laos. In South Vietnam, instead of withdrawing fully, the communists maintained a holding guerrilla operation, and they left behind cadres of men and large caches of weapons for later use.

Beginning in 1959, as we have seen, the communists realized that they were losing the game and intensified their subversive attack. In June 1962, a special report on Vietnam was issued by the International Control Commission, a unit created by the Geneva Conference and composed of a Canadian, an Indian, and a Pole. Though it received little publicity at the time, this report presented evidence of Hanoi's subversive activities in South Vietnam, and specifically found Hanoi guilty of violating the Geneva accords.

Since then, the illegal campaign of terror, violence and subversion conducted by the Viet Cong and directed and supported from the North has greatly expanded. Military men, specialists, and secret agents continue to infiltrate into South Vietnam both directly from the North and through Laos and Cambodia. The flow of communist-supplied weapons, particularly those of large calibre, has increased. These include Chinese 75mm. recoilless rifles and heavy machine guns. Tons of explosive-producing chemicals smuggled in for use by the Viet Cong have been intercepted along with many munitions manufactured in Red China and, to a lesser extent, elsewhere in the communist bloc. In December 1963, a government force

attacked a Viet Cong stronghold in Dinh Tuong province and seized a large cache of equipment, some of which was of Chinese communist manufacture. The Chinese equipment included a 90mm. rocket launcher, 60mm. mortars, carbines, TNT, and hundreds of thousands of rounds of various kinds of ammunition. Some of the ammunition was manufactured as recently as 1962.

When President Diem appealed to President Kennedy at the end of 1961, the South Vietnamese were quite plainly losing their fight against the communists, and we promptly agreed to increase our assistance.

Fourteen months later, in early 1963, President Kennedy was able to report to the nation that "the spearpoint of aggression has been blunted in South Vietnam." It was evident that the government had seized the initiative in most areas from the insurgents. But this progress was interrupted in 1963 by the political crises arising from troubles between the government and the Buddhists, students, and other non-communist oppositionists. President Diem lost the confidence and loyalty of his people; there were accusations of maladministration and injustice, there were two changes of government within three months. The fabric of government was torn. The political control structure extending from Saigon down into the hamlets virtually disappeared. Of the 41 incumbent province chiefs on November 1 of last year, 35 were replaced, nine provinces had three chiefs in three months; one province had four. Scores of lesser officials were replaced. Almost all major military commands changed hands twice. The confidence of the peasants was inevitably shaken by the disruptions in leadership and the loss of physical security. Army and paramilitary desertion rate increased, and the morale of the hamlet militia—the "minutemen"—fell. In many areas, power vacuums developed, causing confusion

among the people and a rising rate of rural disorders.

The Viet Cong fully exploited the resultant organizational turmoil and regained the initiative in the struggle. For example, in the second week following the November coup, Viet Cong incidents more than tripled from 316, peaking at 1,021 per week, while government casualties rose from 367 to 928. Many over-extended hamlets have been overrun or severely damaged. The January change in government produced a similar reaction.

In short, the situation in South Vietnam has unquestionably worsened, at least since last fall.

The picture is admittedly not an easy one to evaluate and, given the kind of terrain and the kind of war, information is not always available or reliable. The areas under communist control vary from daytime to nighttime, from one week to another, according to seasonal and weather factors. And, of course, in various areas the degree and importance of control differ. Although we estimate that in South Vietnam's 14 million population, there are only 20 to 25 thousand "hard core" Viet Cong guerrillas, they have been able to recruit from among the South Vietnamese an irregular force of from 60 to 80 thousand—mainly by coercion and "band-wagon" effect, but also by promising material and political rewards. The loyalties of the hard core have been cemented by years of fighting, first against the Japanese, then against the French, and, since 1954, against the fledgling government of South Vietnam. The young men joining them have been attracted by the excitement of the guerrilla life and then held by bonds of loyalty to their new comrades-in-arms, in a nation where loyalty is only beginning to extend beyond the family or the clan. These loyalties are reinforced both by systematic indoctrination and by the example of what happens to informers and deserters.

Clearly, the disciplined leadership, direction and support from North Vietnam is a critical factor in the strength of the Viet Cong movement. But the large indigenous support that the Viet Cong receives means that solutions must be as political and economic as military. Indeed, there can be no such thing as a purely "military" solution to the war in South Vietnam.

The people of South Vietnam prefer independence and freedom. But they will not exercise their choice from freedom and commit themselves to it in the face of the high personal risk of communist retaliation—a kidnapped son, a burned home, a ravaged crop—unless they can have confidence in the ultimate outcome. Much therefore depends on the new government under General Khanh, for which we have high hopes.

Today the government of General Khanh is vigorously rebuilding the machinery of administration and reshaping plans to carry the war to the Viet Cong. He is an able and energetic leader. He has demonstrated his grasp of the basic elements—political, economic and psychological, as well as military—required to defeat the Viet Cong. He is planning a programme of economic and social advances for the welfare of his people. He has brought into support of the government representatives of key groups previously excluded. He and his colleagues have developed plans for systematic liberation of areas now submissive to Viet Cong duress and for mobilization of all available Vietnamese resources in the defence of the homeland.

At the same time, General Khanh has understood the need to improve South Vietnam's relations with its neighbours, Cambodia and Laos; he has taken steps towards conciliation, and he has been quick and forthright in expressing his government's regret over the recent Viet-

namese violation of Cambodia's borders. In short, he has demonstrated the energy, comprehension, and decision required by the difficult circumstances that he faces.

IV

BEFORE describing the means by which we hope to assist the South Vietnamese to succeed in their undertaking, let me point out the options that President Johnson had before him when he received General Taylor's and my report last week.

Some critics of our present policy have suggested one option—that we simply withdraw. This the United States totally rejects for reasons I have stated.

Other critics have called for a second and similar option—a “neutralization” of Vietnam. This, however, is the game of “what's mine is mine and what's yours is negotiable.” No one seriously believes the communists would agree to “neutralization” of North Vietnam. And, so far as South Vietnam is concerned, we have learned from the past that the communists rarely honour the kind of treaty that runs counter to their compulsion to expand.

Under the shadow of communist power, “neutralization” would in reality be an interim device to permit communist consolidation and eventual takeover. When General Taylor and I were in Hue, at the north end of South Vietnam, two weeks ago, several Vietnamese students carried posters which showed their recognition of the reality of “neutralization.” The signs read: “Neutralize today, communize tomorrow.”

“Neutralization” of South Vietnam, which is today under unprovoked subversive attack, would not be in any sense an achievement of the objectives I have outlined. As we tried to convey in Laos, we have no objection

in principle to neutrality in the sense of non-alignment. But even there we are learning lessons. Communist abuse of the Geneva accords, by treating the Laos corridor as a sanctuary for infiltration, constantly threatens the precarious neutrality. "Neutralization of South Vietnam—an ambiguous phrase at best—was therefore rejected.

The third option before the President was initiation of military actions outside South Vietnam, particularly against North Vietnam, in order to supplement the counter-insurgency programme in South Vietnam.

This course of action—its complications and ways of carrying it out—has been carefully studied.

Whatever ultimate course of action may be forced upon us by the other side, it is clear that actions under this option would be only a supplement, to not a substitute for, progress within South Vietnam's own borders.

The fourth course of action was to concentrate on helping the South Vietnamese win the battle in their own country. This, all agree, is essential no matter what else is done.

The President therefore approved the twelve recommendations that General Taylor and I made relating to this option.

We have reaffirmed U.S. support for South Vietnam's government and pledged economic assistance and military training and logistical support for as long as it takes to bring the insurgency under control.

We will support the government of South Vietnam in carrying out its anti-insurgency plan. Under that plan, Prime Minister Khanh intends to implement a national mobilization programme to mobilize all national resources in the struggle. This means improving the quality of the strategic hamlets, building them systematically outward from secure areas, and correcting previous over-extension.

The security forces of Vietnam will be increased by at least 50,000 men. They will be consolidated, and their effectiveness and conditions of service will be improved. They will press the campaign with increased intensity. We will provide required additional material. This will include strengthening of the Vietnamese Air Force with better aircraft and improving the mobility of the ground forces.

A broad national programme is to be carried out, giving top priority to rural needs. The programme includes land reform, loans to tenant farmers, health and welfare measures, economic development, and improved status for ethnic minorities and paramilitary troops.

A civil administrative corps will be established to bring better public services to the people. This will include teachers, health technicians, agricultural workers, and other technicians. The initial goal during 1964 will be at least 7,500 additional persons; ultimately there will be at least 40,000 men for more than 8,000 hamlets, in 2,500 villages and 43 provinces.

Farm productivity will be increased through doubled use of fertilizers to provide immediate and direct benefits to peasants in secure areas and to increase both their earnings and the nation's export earnings.

We have learned that in Vietnam, political and economic progress are the *sine qua non* of military success, and that military security is equally a prerequisite of internal progress. Our future joint efforts with the Vietnamese are going to apply these lessons.

To conclude: Let me reiterate that our goal is peace and stability, both in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. But we have learned that "peace at any price" is not practical in the long run, and that the cost of defending freedom must be borne if we are to have it at all.

The road ahead in Vietnam is going to be long, difficult and frustrating. It will take work, courage, imagination and—perhaps more than anything else—patience to bear the burden of what President Kennedy called a “long twilight struggle.” In Vietnam, it has not been finished in the first hundred days of President Johnson’s Administration, and it may not be finished in the first 1,000 days; but, in cooperation with General Khanh’s government, we have made a beginning. When the day comes that we can safely withdraw, we expect to leave an independent and stable South Vietnam, rich with resources and bright with prospects for contributing to the peace and prosperity of Southeast Asia and of the world.

“The Free World can cope with communist ‘wars of liberation’ as we have coped successfully with communist aggression at other levels.”



**Published by the United States Information Service,
New Delhi, and printed at Albion Press, Delhi-6.**